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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN WAR.—I have, from the first, expressed my apprehensions as to the end of this war. I used the utmost of my endeavours to prevent it. While shut up in a prison, out of which, at the end of two long years, I went with the paying of a Thousand Pounds TO THE KING, for having had the indiscretion to write about the Flogging of English Local Militiamen, at the town of Ely, in England, and about the presence of *Hanoverian troops* upon that occasion: while so shut up, the greatest object of my efforts was to prevent this ill-fated war, the seeds of which I saw sown, and the maturity of which I saw pushed on by those malignant and foul wretches, the writers of the *Times* and *Courier* newspapers. This was the way in which I employed my days and years of imprisonment.—My efforts were all in vain. In vain did I shew the falsehood of the statements and the doctrines, on which the war-whoopers proceeded; in vain did I appeal to the reason and justice, and even to the *interest* of a people, deluded into a sort of furor against America. At last, the war took place, and the disgrace, which we suffered *at sea* completed the madness of the nation, who seemed to have no other feeling than that of mortification and revenge. What! should the people be suffered to live; should they be suffered to exist in the world, who had defeated and captured a *British frigate*? Should those, who had caused the British flag to be *hauled down*, not be exterminated! Disappointment; astonishment; fury! The nation was mad. "*Rule Britannia*," the constant call of the boasting rabble at places of public resort, was no longer called for with such eagerness, and was heard with less rapture. The heroes in blue and buff carried their heads less loftily. Their voices seemed to become more faint, and their port less majestic. They seemed to feel, as men of honour would, upon such an occasion. In short, we all felt, that a new era had taken place in the naval annals of the world. Still,

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however, the dread of the power of Napoleon restrained many from a wish to see us embarked in a war for the conquest of America. But, he was scarcely subdued by the combined efforts of all Europe, than this whole nation called aloud for war, a war of *punishment*, against the American States.—And, it was openly declared in the most popular of our newspapers, that we ought never to sheath the sword, 'till we had subjugated the States, or, at least, *subverted their form of Government*. The pernicious example of the existence of a *Republic*, founded on a *revolution*, was openly declared to be inconsistent with the *safety* of our Government. It was, besides, distinctly alleged, that *now, now, now, or never*, was the time to prevent America from ever having a navy. The necessity of destroying her means of having a navy has since been repeatedly urged. It has been stated, and re-stated, that our naval power must soon come to an end, unless we now destroy this Republic root and branch.—The defeat and capture of our fleet, and the defeat of our army on and near *Lake Champlain*, (of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter) have not at all softened the language of the public prints. The *Times* newspaper, of the 19th inst. calls it "a lamentable evil to the **CIVILIZED WORLD**:" by which appellation these writers always mean **KINGLY GOVERNMENTS**. The writer then adds: "Next to the annihilation of the late military despotism in Europe, the subversion of that system of fraud and malignity, which constitutes the whole policy of the Jeffersonian school, was an event to be devoutly wished by every man in either hemisphere, who regards rational liberty, or the honourable intercourse of nations. It was an event, to which we should have bent, and yet must bend all our energies. The *American Government* must be displaced, or it will, sooner or later, plant its poisoned dagger in the heart of the parent State." Sooner or later, you see! The gentleman looks into futurity. He does not pretend, that we

should be contented with making the Americans give up the point of dispute. He does not even hint at any terms of peace. He plainly says, that we must *displace the Government of America*; that is to say, change its form and nature; subjugate the country, re-colonize it, re-possess it.—Now mind, the *Opposition* prints do not find fault with this. They do not deprecate such an object of the war. They surpass even their adversaries in exulting at the burnings and plunderings. They only find fault, that *more* mischief has not been done.—Thus, then, we see what the nation regards as the *object* of the war. I say the *nation*, because the *Morning Chronicle*, which is the organ of the *Opposition*, is just as bitter against America as are the *Times* and the *Courier*. The truth is, that the only *opposition*, as to the war, will arise out of our *failures*. The *Opposition* will only *blame* the Ministers for not having burnt *more* ships, plundered *more* towns, and done *more* mischief.—There is, indeed, a sort of dread of the *length* of the war. People are a little *disappointed*, that Mr. Madison is not yet deposed; that the States have not yet separated; that our sons of noble families are not yet wanted to go out as Governors and Captains General to Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Virginia, &c. &c.; that it will require *another* campaign to bring the deluded Americans to their senses; that (and here is the pinch) the *Income Tax* will be wanted *another* year, and that *another* Loan must be made.—But, “what is *one* more year of expence at the end of 22 years of war? And, then, it will give us such *lasting* peace and security.” Thus is fear *hushed*; and when, in addition, the thought of our defeated and captured frigates comes athwart the mind, the *Income Tax* is forgotten; and vengeance, war, and blood is the cry.—I now proceed to notice more particularly the events, which have reached our knowledge since the date of my last article upon the subject.—The *plundering of Alexandria* appears to have been the most successful of our enterprises. The American papers give our people great credit for their talent at the emptying of shops, and the embarkation of their contents, at which, to do our army and navy (especially the latter) but bare justice, we seem to have been uncommonly adroit.—It seems, however, that the squadron, had the plunder aboard, had but a

narrow escape in descending the Chesapeake; but, plunder there was, and a good deal of it; and there can be little doubt, that the success and profit of the enterprise will act as great encouragement to future undertakings of a similar description; the only danger being, that the zeal of our Commanders may push them on faster, than a due regard to their safety might otherwise dictate.—In an attempt against *Baltimore* we failed. That is to say, we met with a *defeat*. Not in the *field*; but that is nothing to the purpose. We marched and sailed against the town with all our forces, by sea and land, and we were *compelled* to retreat without doing any thing against that town. The town is safe; and, if the war end as this expedition has ended, all the world will agree, that America has *defeated* us. We may be sure of this; and, therefore, we must carry on the war, 'till we have subdued America; or, we must make up our minds to the reputation of having been defeated by that Republic. A pretty serious alternative; but it is one which must and will exist, and of this we shall become more and more sensible every day, and particularly if we attend to what foreigners say upon the subject.—The expedition of our troops and fleet against Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot is of a nature so trifling as hardly to be worthy of notice. That territory is no more important in America than the Isle of Sky is in Great Britain. It is a conquest, and so would the Isle of Sky be by an American privateer. What a figure does this conquest make in the *Gazette*! What a grand affair it appears to be! But, did a thousandth part of the people of England ever HEAR of Passamaquoddy, or Penobscot, before? It is Baltimore, Charleston, Wilmington, Norfolk, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, that they have heard of. They have been led to believe, that the City of Washington is to America what London is to England, or what Paris is to France. Nothing can be more fallacious. There are, perhaps, 200 towns in America, each of which is more populous and rich than Washington was, or than it was likely ever to be.—Besides, we did not *keep* possession of Washington, as the Germans and Russians did of Paris. We did not remain there to erect a *new* Government. We only set fire to a few buildings and then *retreated*. If an American privateer were to set fire to a few fishing huts on the



coast of Wales, should we look upon it as a very brilliant affair?—Yet, this Washington enterprise was, by the *Morning Chronicle*, deemed the most gallant dash of the war!—In the “*demonstration*,” as Admiral Cochrane calls it, against Baltimore, General Ross was killed; and some of our papers call this *foul play*!—“The fellow,” says one of them, “took aim at the gallant Ross from behind some brush-wood.”—Well, and what then? Do not troops shoot from behind parapets, and walls, and works of all sorts? And do we suppose, that the Americans will not make use of a bush when it comes in their way? If this crying tone be to be indulged in, we shall, I fear, cry our eyes out before the war be over. We have sent our bombs, and rockets, and rifles, and all sorts of means of destruction; our writers blame the Ministers for not sending the means of knocking down towns fast enough: and shall we abuse poor Jonathan if he avail himself of a bush and of his skill at hitting a mark? General Ross burnt their President’s house, and a Yankee shot General Ross. These are things which naturally occur; and, however we may lament the death of any officer, we must reflect, that an invaded people will shoot at their invaders, unless the former are ready to receive the latter as friends.—Before I proceed to notice the late affair on and near *Lake Champlain*, there are some few remarks to be bestowed on certain characteristic facts, which have leaked out, and on certain paragraphs in our newspapers.—The Americans are accused of cowardice, for having retreated before inferior numbers and taken shelter in Baltimore. Why was this cowardice? The main object was to defend that great and rich city. The second was to annihilate our army and naval force. To make a long stand in the open country, with raw troops against disciplined soldiers, was not the way to effect either of these purposes. The main object was effected, and our retreat only, probably, prevented the effecting of the latter.—The *Times* newspaper, a few days ago, remarking on the cowardice of the Americans, contrasted with the bravery of our army and navy, observed, that the cause was, that they had no feelings of patriotism; that they cared nothing about the fate of their country.—Now, what is the ground of this war? Why, we complained that the Americans

they complained, that we forced native Americans into our service.—This fact is notorious to all the world. This fact is recorded in our own official documents. This fact makes part of unquestionable history.—Another fact has just been recorded by this same *Times* newspaper, namely, that two of our seamen were hanged, on board the fleet in the Chesapeake, for attempting to desert to the enemy.—It is also stated, in the same paper, (24th of Oct.) that about 150 of our soldiers deserted on the retreat from Plattsburg.—Now, let this empty boaster produce us instances like these, on the side of the Americans, if he can; and if he cannot, let him acknowledge himself to be either a deluded fool, or a deluding knave.—But has Jonathan shewn no zeal for his country? What was that act of self-devotion which induced a man to expose his property to certain, and himself to probable, destruction, by shooting at General Ross and killing his horse under him, in the City of Washington, after the town was in possession of our troops? By what feeling was the man actuated, who exposed his life for the sake of killing General Ross, and who must have been almost alone, since he was hidden behind some brushwood? To what are we to impute the capture of 200 young men of the “best families in Baltimore,” found in the fore-ground defence of their city? Was greater courage, more desperate devotion to country ever witnessed than at the battle of Chippawa, and at Fort Erie? How comes it, that, during the last campaign, we have lost more officers and men, out of twenty thousand employed, than we ever lost in the European war out of one hundred thousand? From what feeling was it, that Mr. Madison called, as we are told he has, Mr. RUFUS KING to his counsels; and from what feeling is it that Mr. KING has accepted of the call?—The *Morning Chronicle*, that cameleon of this war, now boasts, that it foretold union against us. It never foretold it. It always urged on the war. It called, and it was the first to call, the burnings of Washington a most gallant dash. However, it is now clear, that we have completely united the whole country. The bombardment of Stonington in Massachusetts, and the plundering of Alexandria in Virginia, have done what all the workings of good sense and public spirit were not able to effect. Mr. RUFUS KING, whom we regarded as the rival and the implacable

enemy of Mr. Madison, has taken a post under him for the defence of his country; and we shall now see, that, amongst those whom we thought our friends, we shall find the most resolute enemies. Stonington and Alexandria will be constantly before every American's eyes.—I always was opposed to the war, and to this mode of warfare especially. I knew it would produce that which it has produced. I knew it would render the breach too wide ever to be healed again. I knew that it would produce, either the total subjugation of America, which I thought impossible, or, our final defeat in the eyes of the world, with the ulterior consequence of seeing America a most formidable Naval Power, which the recent events on the borders of Canada seem but manifestly to portend.—It is quite surprising to what an extent this nation has been, and still is, deluded, with regard to America, and to the nature and effect of this war. It is only fifteen days ago, that the *Courier* newspaper contained the following paragraph:—"There were reports last night of our having attacked and taken New London, and destroyed the City of Baltimore. Both these events are probable, but there are no arrivals from America later than the last dispatches from Admiral Cochrane, dated on the 3d of last month. But as the wind has been fair for some days, we hourly expect a fresh arrival. It must bring news of great importance—intelligence from Canada—another attack upon Fort Erie—another conflict with General Brown—perhaps a battle with the American General Izard—the further operations of Admiral Cochrane and General Ross—the result of the expedition under General Sherbrooke—the operations of the Creek Indians, who had already made their appearance upon the frontiers of South Carolina—and "last, not least," the effect of our late attack upon the minds of the American people—the steps taken by Mr. Madison, if he yet remains President, and the measures adopted by those States that were in a ferment against the Government even before this late disaster, and were not indisposed to a separation from the other States. No arrival from America was ever expected with more impatience."—Well, the arrival has taken place. The impatiently expected arrival has taken place. New London has not been attacked. The attack on Balti-

more has failed. General Ross is killed. Admiral Cochrane has arrived at Halifax for the winter, with the plunder of Alexandria. The effect upon the minds of the American people has been such as to unite even Mr. KING with Mr. Madison, who "yet remains President." No new attack has been made on Fort Erie; but the army of General Izard at Plattsburg has been attacked by our Commander in Chief, with the "Wellington heroes" under him, with the "conquerors of France" under him, while the American fleet was attacked by ours; and not only have both attacks failed, but we have experienced a more compleat defeat, than, as far as I recollect, we ever before experienced, the notable affair of the *Helder* only excepted.—Thinking Johnny Bull! You, who were so eager to give the Yankees a drubbing. You, who were so full of fight, that nothing but another war would appease you. Pray, can you tell me how it is that our Ministers, who have given us such exact accounts about the "gallant dashes" at Washington and Alexandria, and who have published such loads of dispatches and proclamations about the conquest of the Penobscot territory, not equal in population to the parish of St. Martins in the Fields; can you tell me how it has happened, that this Ministry have not received, or, at least, have not published, the account of the land and water battle at Plattsburg and on Lake Champlain, though we have Sir George Prevost's General Order issued after the battle, and though we have numerous extracts from Canada papers, dated many days later than the date of the order!—Cannot you tell me this, thinking Johnny Bull! you, who, when you heard of the capture of Washington City, were for sending out a Vice-Roy to the American States? You, who called the Americans cowardly dogs, and hailed the prospect of a speedy release from the Income Tax, and the payment of the national debt by the sale of lands, and by taxes raised in America?—Well, then, in waiting patiently for this official account, we must content ourselves with what the newspapers tell us they have extracted from the papers of Canada.—Letters extracted from the American papers make our loss dreadful indeed. General Maccomb, the American Commander, is represented to have written to his father, at New-York, telling him, that he had killed, or taken, 3,000 of our army, and that he

killed. Halifax Alex- of the to unite on, who attack out the arg has Chief, er him, under attacked attacks a more collect, ble af- d.— were so bbing. nothing Pray, Minis- et ac- s" at who atches est of popu- in the hap- eived, ne ac- tle at plain, s Ge- and from than a tell who, hing- -Roy called failed in the e nar- d by n, in unt, the ected ex- make Ma- pre- at led, he

expected to destroy *one-half* of it.—Our newspapers said that this was *false*. They also said that it was *false* that we had any thing like a *frigate* on Lake Champlain, though it now appears, that we had a ship actually mounting 32 guns, and that the largest of the American vessels was rated at 28 guns, and carried, as we say, 30 guns.—But, let us take, for the *present*, the amount of the Canada papers, and look with impatience, but with becoming *humility*, to his Majesty's Ministers for further information.—Thus, then, speak the Canadian printers; thus speak the bitterest enemies of America.

Montreal, Sept. 15.

"You have herewith a copy of the General Order of the 13th inst. to understand which, requires more than the being able to read it. There never was, perhaps, such a composition: for, without knowing the result, one might be led to think we had gained a victory. Report says that our hero, on passing some of the troops on the road, was *hissed* by them; and farther, and which I believe to be true, that when the order was given for retreating, General Power rode up to the Commander in Chief, and begged the order for retreat might be recalled, as General Brisbane was about storming the fort, and would have possession of it in a few minutes—the reply, it is said, was, 'My orders must be obeyed,' and then a general retreat took place. I do not know with any certainty, having heard no one speak on the subject, but it will not surprise me if we have lost, one way and another, in this disgraceful affair, not less than 800 men.—It was a fair battle between the fleets; the fort did not play on the *Confiance* and *Linnet*, as has been stated. Captain Pring, in the *Linnet*, though aground, is said to have fought his vessel for a considerable time after the *Confiance* had struck.

Quebec, Sept. 16.

"Stories become blacker and blacker, respecting our disgrace and misfortunes at Plattsburg. Lieutenant Drew, of the *Linnet*, is come in here, being paroled for 14 days, states the loss of the fleet to have been in a great measure owing to the land forces not storming the American fort; there were only 1,400 men in it, under General McComb, who informed Captain Pring, of the *Linnet*, that every thing was prepared to surrender on the advance of the British army. Report says, that General Robinson is under arrest; that Generals Brisbane and Power had tendered their swords to Sir G. Prevost; and that Col. Williams, of the 13th, had declared that he would never draw his sword again, while under the command of Sir George. It is said Sir George is gone to Kingston.

Montreal, Sept. 17.

"My last letter to you was of date the 14th instant, when I had the mortification to inform you of our fleet on Lake Champlain being entirely defeated and taken by the enemy at Plattsburg, about 70 miles from this place, and when we had an army of 14 or 15,000 regular and brave troops, who only wished to be allowed to storm the enemy's fort, and which every body says would easily have been accomplished had any other person had the command than Sir G. Prevost; we have suffered more disgrace from the incapacity of this man than we will retrieve for months to come, let our exertions be ever so great. There were six of our officers killed on board of our vessels, and 20 are made prisoners; and besides we must have lost near 1000 brave men in killed, wounded and prisoners. It will not surprise me if the expedition has cost about 500,000*l*. Report now says that Sir George Prevost is going up to Kingston to attack Sackett's harbour, but I am sure that he will not be a welcome visitor in the Upper Province. The army retreated most precipitately, and are in general at the posts they occupied before the expedition took place, with the loss of about 150 deserters on the retreat, besides a vast loss in provisions and munitions of war. The Wellingtonian soldiers say that the hunters and the hounds are capital, but that the huntsman and the whipper-in are two—fools—meaning, I consider, Sir G. Prevost, and his Adjutant-General, Major E. Baynes.—We have inserted the General Order relating to the proceedings of the army and flotilla at Plattsburg. Candour must compel every one to confess that the result of the late operations has fallen short of even moderate expectations.—The battle lasted an hour and a half. The force of each squadron, we are informed, stands thus:—British, one ship, mounting in all 32 guns; one brig, in all 20 guns; two sloops of 70 tons, each 10 guns; and 10 gun-boats. American, one ship, rated 28 guns, carrying 30; one brig, 24; one strong schooner, 18; three sloops, each 10 guns, and 24 gun-boats. The crews, tonnage, and weight of metal, are estimated at one fourth superior on the side of the Americans; and we have no reason to doubt our information.—We have always considered offensive warfare as the best mode of securing peace: and recent humiliation has not changed our tone. We may be called to defend points which have hitherto not been thought of; and consequently the late retreat may not have been ill-advised; but the fort at Plattsburg should have been stormed. That part of the labour would have cost less blood and embarrassment than was sustained in the retreat: a retreat that will tend to rouse the energies of the enemy. We might have taken 2000 prisoners, a fine train of

"artillery, and immense stores. We are not military men, but we call on every experienced officer" to support or contradict us. If we are wrong, we shall take a pride in confessing our ignorance.—The scientific brave Generals, Officers, and soldiers of the Duke of Wellington's army, and the others who have before fought in our cause in the Canadas, did every thing which depended on them to support the noble efforts of their brothers on the water. That distinguished officer General Robinson, who has been twice wounded this year on the other Continent, with part of his gallant brigade, had braved all danger in an assault. Some of the picquets of the fort were torn away, and a few minutes more would have given up the fortification with an immense train of artillery into our hands, and every American must have fallen, or been made prisoner. It was thought necessary to check the ardour of the troops, and we must now instantly redouble our energies to obtain the command of the Lake, or with humility await our future destiny."

Thus, then, according to our own accounts, the Americans had but 1,500 regulars and 6,000 militia, wherewith to make face against 15,000 British troops, commanded by four Major Generals and Sir George Prevost, a General of long experience and of great reputation.—On the Lake, we say, that the Americans had a fourth more than we. Suppose they had? I do not admit the fact? but suppose they had? A fourth! And how long is it since we thought a fourth too much? Every one knows, that Sir Robert Calder was disgraced for not pursuing double his force. We are become very nice calculators of force. We shall soon hear, I suppose, that we ought always to keep aloof, unless we can count the guns, and know that we have a superiority.—Fifteen thousand men, seven of them from the army of "the conqueror of France!" And these draw off from the presence of 7,500 Yankees, to whom they were about to give a good drubbing! Why, it will make such a noise in the world! It will make such a buzz; it will astound "honest John Bull," who was, only the last market day, charging his glass and bragging about sending out a Vice-Roy.—The whole fleet!—What, all! Our little ones and all! All at one fell swoop!—It will make Johnny Bull scratch his noddle in search of brains. The chuckling of honest John at the burning of Washington, the plundering of Alexandria, and bombarding of Stonington, will be changed into grum-

bling, I am afraid.—But come, Johnny, you must not grumble. You were for the war. It is your own war. The Ministers are not to blame. You insisted upon chastising and humbling the Americans. You would have Mr. Madison deposed.—You said he had sided with Napoleon. You said what was false, Johnny; but that's no matter. You called upon the Ministers to depose him. This I will always say, and can, at any time, prove against you.—The consequences of this victory of the Americans must be very important. Sir George Prevost is blamed, and, indeed, abused, while the officers of the fleet, the defeated and captured fleet, are complimented to the skies. When will this folly cease? When shall we cease to be so basely unjust? What would have been said of Sir George, if he had had his army blown into the air, or cut to pieces? If he and all his army had been captured, what would have been said of him and of that army? Yet this has happened to the fleet, and the fleet are complimented! While he, who has saved a great part of his army, notwithstanding the defeat, the total defeat of the fleet, is censured and abused; is called a fool, and almost a coward!—Sir George Prevost is neither fool nor coward. He is a man of great merit, is of long standing in the service, has served with great success; and he has shewn great ability in being able, with so small a force as he has hitherto had, to preserve a country generally inhabited by a people by no means zealous in their own defence, or, rather, in that of their territory. Let any one look at the situation of Lake Champlain. It extends in length 150 miles, perhaps, running above the State of Vermont, and entering our Province of Lower Canada in line pointing towards Quebec. It was very desirable to drive the Americans from the command of this Lake, which may be called their high road, to Montreal and Quebec. It is the great channel for their army, their provisions, their guns, to pass along; and, complete and sole masters of this Lake, it is not easy to conceive how they are to be kept from Quebec without a very large army from England. If the Americans had been defeated upon the Lake, or had been compelled to retire to the Vermont end of it, then to have driven back their army also, would have been an object of vast importance; nor would great loss in the attack, on our part, have been an irre-

terrible loss, or been followed by any extremely great danger.—But when our fleet was not only defeated but actually captured, and gone off to double the force of the Americans, even the *certain* defeat of their army could have led to no beneficial result. We must still have abandoned Plattsburg; the fleet of the enemy would have speedily brought another army to any point that they wished, and would have placed that army 50 or 60 miles *nearer* Quebec than our army would have been. But if, by any chance, we had been defeated by *land* after the defeat on the water, the loss of *all* Canada would, and must have been the consequence, if the Americans had chosen to conquer it, which, I dare say, they would.—Therefore, it appears to me, that Sir George Prevost acted the only part which a sensible man, under such circumstances, could have, for one moment, thought of. He *risked every thing* in the attack, and, if he succeeded, he *gained nothing worth having*. The loss of *half* his army, which was the case of the storming of Fort Erie, would have exposed him, even in case of success, to great peril. The Americans could have immediately poured an army (by means of their fleet) more numerous than his into Lower Canada; they could have poured in, all the winter, militia and volunteers from the populous and brave republican State of Vermont, while our Governor had, and could have no hopes of receiving reinforcements *till the middle of next summer*. For supposing us to have *spare* troops at Halifax, they could hardly sail thence before the middle of October, and before they might reach Quebec, the ice in the St. Lawrence might have scuttled or foundered their vessels.—The St. Lawrence, our only channel to Canada from England or from Halifax, is full of mountains of ice till the month of June. I have seen a large mountain of ice off the mouth of that immense river on the 15th of June. I believe, that no vessels of any considerable size ever attempt the navigation of that river much before June. In what a situation, then, would our Governor have been placed if he had met with any serious loss in the storming of the fort at Plattsburg? And yet he is censured and abused for retreating, after the total capture of our co-operating fleet, while the officers of that fleet are *praised to the skies*.—About three weeks ago, just after we heard of the burnings of Washington city, I met Sir George Pre-

vost's waggon, between Portsmouth and Havant. The carter was whistling along by the side of some nice fat horses. I could not help observing to my son how much happier this fellow was than his master, who had to govern Canadians and fight Americans.—It is easy to talk about the *heroes of Thoulouse* forming part of his army. The "heroes of Thoulouse" are said to have remonstrated against the retreat. They are said to have expressed a desire to storm the fort. Sir George Prevost would, I dare say, have been of the same mind, if he had had reason to suppose, that one half of the people within were, as the people of Thoulouse were, ready to join him. But he well knew the contrary. He knew, that he had to get into the fort through a river of blood. He had just seen the fate of our fleet; and he knew, as "the heroes of Thoulouse" might have known, that the men in the fort were of the same stamp as those upon the water.—We now find from a detailed statement in the American papers, coming from authority, and accompanied by an account of killed and wounded in the naval battle on the Lake, that our fleet had 93 guns and 1,050 men, while that of America had but 86 guns and 820 men. Our fleet was all taken but the gun-boats, carrying 16 guns amongst them all. And yet the naval people are *praised*, while Sir George Prevost is *censured*.—Whence arises this injustice? Whence this security of the navy from all censure, and even from all criticism? Do we feel that to censure any part of it is to discover to the world that it is not always infallible? Do we suppose that, in discovering our fears of its inferiority, in point of quality, to that of America, we shall make the world perceive the lamentable fact? Are we fools enough to hope that the history of this battle can be hidden from France and the rest of Europe?—Why, then, this injustice? Why not blame the naval part of the forces, if blame must fall somewhere? I see no necessity for its falling *any where*, for my part. We had 84 men killed and 110 wounded, which shews that there was some fighting. We had double the number killed and wounded that Jonathan had, which shews that Jonathan was the more able-bodied and active of the two. A letter was, a little while ago, published as from one of our officers in the Chesapeake Bay, saying, that Jonathan must now look *pretty sharply about him*. It appears from

the result of this battle, that Jonathan *does* look *pathy* sharply about him. Now, then, let us *hear* what effect this event has had upon the *Times* newspaper, which, only a week ago, insisted on it, that the American Government must be displaced, that the Americans were cowards, that they cared nothing about their country, and that the States would soon divide, and come over, one at a time, to the *parent* country.—Now, let us hear what torch-bearer of the war, this trumpet of fire and sword, provoker to every act of violence and cruelty. Let us hear what he *now* has to say; he, who has, for three years past, been urging the Government on to this disastrous contest.—“Halifax papers to the 6th instant, New York to the 22d ultimo, and Boston to the 25th, have been received. There is no dissembling that the popular outcry in Canada against Sir George Prevost’s conduct, on occasion of the late operations against Plattsburg, is very general and very loud. We cannot pretend to determine on the talents of this officer, or on the wisdom of his plans; but we recur to the suggestion which we made at a very early period of the campaign, and regret exceedingly that one of our most experienced Generals from Spain was not sent at once, with an army strong in numbers, and flushed with victory from the fields of Thoulouse, to the heart of the United States. Was it beneath the dignity of Lord Hill, or even of the Duke of Wellington? Fatal prejudice! To *despise*, to *irritate*, and, after all, *not to subdue our adversaries*, is the worst and weakest of all policy. Now we have reduced ourselves to the dilemma of being obliged to carry our point by main force, or to retire from the contest *ten times worse than we began it*, with the mere postponement of an abstract question, which has no reference to our present state of peace, *with a fund of the bitterest animosity laid up against us in future, with our flag disgraced on the ocean and on the lakes*, and with the laurels withered at Plattsburg, which were so hardly but so gloriously earned in Portugal, and Spain, and France. The spirit of the British nation cannot stoop to the latter alternative; and therefore, at whatever risk, at whatever expense, we must embrace the former. The invaluable year 1814, when

the treachery of America was fresh in the minds of the European Powers is past. Already do they begin to relax their deep and merited contempt of the servile hypocrite Madison. Already do they turn a compassionating look on the smoking rafters of the would-be Capitol. Presently, perhaps, the Russian Cabinet may forget that the Empress Catherine, to her dying day, treated the Americans as rebels to their legal Sovereign; or the Spanish Court, while it is endeavouring to rivet its yoke on Buenos Ayres, may join with the philosophers of Virginia, in contending for the liberty of the seas. Such, and still greater political inconsistencies we have before new witnessed. Therefore let time be taken by the forelock; let not another campaign be wasted in diversions, and demonstrations; let not another autumnal sun go down in DISGRACE TO THE BRITISH ARMS. Commodore Macdonough’s laconic note savours a little of affectation; but we are sorry he has so favourable an opportunity for displaying the brevity of his style to advantage. General Macomb’s orders, however, are sufficiently lengthy; and, unfortunately, he also has some unpleasant information to give us. He states, that 14,000 British veterans have been foiled by 1500 American regulars and some few militia, the whole not exceeding 2500 men. If he is correct in these estimates, it is surely high time that we should either give up teaching the Americans war, or send them some better instructors.”—The former is the best, be assured! Why should Commodore Macdonough be charged with affectation, because he writes a short letter? He has no sons or cousins, or patron’s sons or cousins, or bastards, to recommend for the receipts of presents or pensions.—But I have, at present, no room for further comment on this article. I will resume the subject in my next.

RETALIATION.—A great deal has lately been said in the French, in the American, and in our own newspapers, about the destructive mode of warfare now waging in Canada, and in the United States. The two former have employed the most violent invectives against our Government, on account of the burning of Washington, and other places, while we have set up, as a justification of these rigorous measures

the plea of *retaliation*; that is to say, have alleged, that the burning and ransacking of defenceless towns, and the carrying away of private property from our Provinces in Canada, *began* with the Americans; and that what our troops have since done, what houses they have set fire to, what property they have taken away, and what numbers of innocent people they have ruined, instead of being either wanton, barbarous, or unjust, was a fair retaliation for the injuries they had done us, and perfectly consistent with the established laws of nations. If the practice of shedding human blood in battle is at all justifiable, I do not see why one nation has a right more than another, of deviating from the common and prescribed rules of carrying on this work of destruction. I cannot admit, because one people, who call themselves *civilized*, should, in order to get the better of their neighbours, take into their head to copy the practices of *savages* and *barbarians*, that the others have not an equal right to adopt the same practices. The one having, in a moment of frenzy, employed an instrument, to cut his neighbours throat, *different* from that which, in *cold blood*, he had agreed to use in the performance of this *humane* act, it seems to be only fair play that his opponent should satiate his thirst for human gore in a way, at least, as horrible and savage as his neighbour. Were the party who had been provoked to seek his revenge in a still more terrible manner, perhaps something might even then be offered in his vindication. At all events, if the Americans were really guilty, *in the first instance*, of the wanton and dreadful outrages of which we accuse them; if they set the example of devastation and barbarity, of which we so loudly complain, and under which we shelter ourselves for the commission of similar outrages, I am quite satisfied that they have suffered nothing more than they deserved, and that the French people, in place of its-simulating us to Attila and his Huns, or Robespierre and his bravadoes, ought, in justice, to draw the comparison between these inhuman monsters and the Americans themselves. But there is a circumstance which, it is necessary, should be attended to in determining this important question—namely, whether the acts and deeds of the Americans, which serve as a plea for the dreadful revenge we have taken, were authorised, or afterwards sanctioned, *by the American Government*. If it appeared

that these cruelties were committed, in consequence of an order from the Secretary at War, or any other person holding a responsible situation in the Government, then there would be no room for doubt: the question would be decided *against* the Americans, and Great Britain stand acquitted in the eyes of the universe. If, however, it should turn out, that neither Mr. Madison, nor any individual connected with his Government, directly or indirectly, issued such an order, candour will compel us to acknowledge, that we have been rather rash in the severe censures we have pronounced upon the American Government. But if, upon farther inquiry, we find, that every thing has been done by that Government which prudence could dictate, or which we ourselves could devise, to *soften* the rigours of war; if it should appear, that the American President, anticipating the dreadful evils consequent on a state of hostility, adopted *precautionary* measures, in order to *ameliorate* the condition of the invaders as well as the invaded; if we should discover, that where any thing contrary to the usages of war, any of those violences inseparable from a state of warfare, occurred, the individuals engaged in these, or who may have exercised any unnecessary severity, were brought to trial, or punished for the impropriety of their conduct. If, I say, such should appear to have been the way in which the American Government have acted in such cases, it will be impossible to condemn Mr. Madison upon just grounds, or to clear us of those charges of cruelty, barbarity, and wanton precipitancy, which our neighbours have so lavishly brought against us. The *Courier*, and all our hireling tribe of journalists, following its example, have stated, that “from the first invasion of Upper Canada by the American forces, under Brigadier-General Hull, they manifested “a disposition of marking out, as objects “of peculiar resentment, all loyal subjects “of his Majesty, and dooming their property to plunder and conflagration.”—That the Americans *invaded* Upper Canada, after war had broken out between the two countries, is a fact we cannot doubt; but that they should behave in the manner here pointed out; that they should shew *peculiar resentment* towards some of the inhabitants merely because they were *loyal* subjects, and doom their property to destruction, for no other reason than that

they were attached to their lawful Sovereign, is what no reasonable person will believe, who knows any of the respect the American Ministers have always shewn to the Government of other States, and the extraordinary devotion of the people to their own political institutions. The charge indeed has been held so absurd by the Americans, that they have never deigned to notice it, although they have uniformly met all general and undefined accusations with a dignified denial, and an explicit call upon their accusers to embody their charges in some tangible shape. Finding that this manly way of silencing calumny had its proper effect, our corrupt press then pretended to discover, in certain acts of the American army, a sufficient ground not only on which to rest their former accusations, but to warrant the adoption of those destructive measures that have lately attended our naval and military operations. It was said, that the proceedings of the Americans at the village of Newark, in Upper Canada, were marked with acts of the greatest atrocity, such as burning and destroying the farm-houses and other buildings of the peaceable inhabitants. "It will hardly be credited," said the servile writer of the *Courier*, "that, in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation calling itself civilized and christian, had wantonly, and without the shadow of a pretext, forced 400 helpless women and children to quit their dwellings, and to be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them." When this writer affected, in this hypocritical manner, to lament the scenes he has so pathetically described, he took special care not to inform his readers, that the village of Newark was situated so close to Fort George, that it was scarcely possible to carry on military operations at that place, either of a defensive or offensive nature, without destroying many of the surrounding buildings. Accordingly, when it was said, that the American officer commanding at Fort George had exceeded the bounds of propriety, he justified himself on the ground, that the measures he had taken were essentially necessary to the military plans he had adopted. It is plain, from an inquiry having been ordered by the American Government into this officer's conduct, that it gave no authority to act rigorously towards the inhabitants of our States. But what establishes this beyond

all controversy is, that, on this very occasion, the American Minister openly and distinctly disavowed all intention of carrying on war contrary to the established practice of civilized nations. Supposing, therefore, what does not even appear to be the case, that the American officer had, in this instance, been guilty of some violence, or had even done all the mischief of which he is accused, this would not afford a ground on which to blame the Government, when it cannot be shewn that it sanctioned his acts either by previous orders or a subsequent approval. Aware of the conclusive nature of this fact, the *Courier* now attempts to shelter itself under the fallacious pretence, that the destruction of the houses at Newark "could in no degree assist the American operations," and that, when Mr. Monroe made this statement, "he knew it to be totally false." I leave it to the reader to judge, whether the Editor of the *Courier* or the American Secretary of State is entitled to the greatest credit, or which of them is the most likely to be possessed of correct information on the subject. Could I suppose that the preference would be given to the former, I would still maintain, that the bare knowledge of these outrages having been committed, would prove nothing. It must be distinctly shewn that they were authorised by the Government, before they can be held as warranting the steps we have taken. As this is not even pretended by the *Courier*, it must continue an established fact, that the American Government was not the first aggressor, and consequently, that we cannot plead their example in justification of our conduct. It has been said, that the burning of Long Point completely implicates the American Government. But it is only necessary, as in the last instance, to produce the evidence of their having sanctioned the deed, to admit the conclusion drawn from it. The American Government has repeatedly declared, that this act was totally unauthorised; and to shew their entire disapprobation of it, they delivered up the officer, under whose orders it was performed, to be tried by the laws of his country. "But (asks the *Courier*) what was the result? This is studiously concealed."—Supposing the officer acquitted of the charge, what would the *Courier* say to this? Would he have the impudence to assert, that the Government ought to be held culpable, and the people visited with the most dreadful of all calamities,

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because the tribunals, established by law, had not considered the evidence sufficient to convict the accused? Of what consequence is it to our Government, or how far is it held implicated in the issue of a Court Martial, whether the party tried be found innocent or guilty? Have not Ministers done their duty, when they deliver up the accused to be tried by his proper judges? Who ever thinks of connecting them, after this step, with the judgment that may be pronounced? Would the *Courier* writer wish us to believe that Ministers do influence the decisions of the Judges? Does he mean to insinuate, that even Juries are not beyond the influence of corruption? If he does not; if, as he always pretends, he entertains a high opinion of the integrity of our Judges, and a reverence for the Trial by Jury; if he considers it a direct violation of the Constitution to interfere with their verdicts; upon what principle is it that the American Government should be blamed, and the people punished for shewing the same respect for the decisions of their Judges, and the same deference for the verdicts of their Juries? How can we censure or punish the Americans upon these grounds, without censuring and punishing the Government and the people of this country also? Let the *Courier*, or his admirers, answer these questions, if they can.—Another ground of retaliation, urged by corruption against the American Government, was the burning of St. David's. This, it appears, was done by a straggling party of soldiers, who, finding themselves freed from all constraint, conceived they had a right to plunder and destroy every thing that came in their way belonging to the enemy. Have we not heard of thousands of such parties in the recent war on the Continent? And has not every newspaper in Europe dwelt with indignation on the atrocities committed by loose bands of soldiers belonging to all the armies of the belligerents? But who ever pretended that any of the Governments, or any of the nations to which these insulated parties of marauders belonged, should be so far held responsible for their acts, as to be placed beyond the protection of the law of nations, and to be made to suffer for crimes which they could neither foresee nor prevent? It was enough that the guilty were made to suffer. In ordering this, the nation to whom they belonged did all that was incumbent on them to do, and all that could reasonably be

required by the injured parties. The American Government acted precisely in the same way. The officer who had the charge of the party that burned St. Davids was dismissed from the service "without a trial, for not preventing it." I think this was an arbitrary stretch of power. No man ought to be punished without a trial, however great and however palpable his crime. To admit a contrary practice is opening a door that may lead to great abuses, and I am sorry to find the fact admitted by an American Secretary of State. But aggravated as this officer's punishment was by this breach of law and justice, the *Courier* writer would have it believed, that it was not half severe. "Was that an adequate punishment," he asks, "for such an unprovoked enormity?" Thanks to the enlightened minds of those who framed the American code of laws, that it was considered an adequate punishment. To judge from the sanguinary disposition of this corruptionist, it appears that nothing would have satisfied him short of burning the wretch alive; and because some such punishment as this was not inflicted, he now pretends that Madison's government ought to be implicated in the affair of St. Davids, and that a circumstance so manifestly uncontrollable, and so clearly unauthorized by any proper authority, is sufficient to countenance the plea we have set up in justification of the dreadful sufferings we have inflicted on the American people!—If we were to form our opinions of the Americans, upon what this prostituted writer tells us, we could not fail to consider them the most barbarous, the most immoral, and the most uncultivated race of men existing on the face of the earth; yet with all their ignorance, and all their savage propensities, we do not perceive that their rulers have been so stupidly precipitate as either to proclaim the inhabitants of the countries they invaded beyond the protection of the law, or to treat them as if they had been their own subjects, in open rebellion against the State. The cases already alluded to evidently do not warrant the conclusions drawn by the *Courier*, unfavourable to the humanity of the Americans; and if we are disposed to give a candid hearing to what they themselves have published in their own defence, we shall soon be convinced, that they are neither barbarous nor inhuman; that they are as well acquainted with the science of politics, and entertain as great a respect for the established laws of nations, and the

rights of particular States, as the most civilized and Christian people in Europe. It appears, indeed, that their superior acquirements, combined with an ardent attachment to liberty, is the cause of the great hatred and rancour constantly displayed, in our newspaper press, against all their institutions. We envy the Americans because they *excel* us, and from envy proceeds enmity. Nor do the recent triumphs which they have obtained over our fleets and armies, and the imposing attitude they have in consequence assumed, appear in any degree to lessen the deep rooted malice entertained against them by a great majority in this country. Disaster seems to have no other effect than to confirm popular prejudices; the public have no wish to be undeceived, and the man that dares attempt to tell them the truth is sure to be treated with contempt, and to be looked upon as a suspected person, who, like the nation whose rights he defends, ought to be punished for his laudable efforts. With such dispositions, it is no way surprizing that the conductors of our vile press find admirers. They flatter their passions, they feed their appetite for lies, they nourish their hatred, and they re-kindle their fury, whenever circumstances occur to reconcile them to the former objects of their hate. From this dreadful, but no less faithful, picture of the present state of society, one would almost be compelled to conclude, that man was naturally a savage animal. It is not, however, from the corruption of his nature that these evils spring; they are occasioned by corrupt institutions, by perverted systems of education, by inexorable laws, that interested cheats have every where promulgated, and that never can be overcome until mankind return to reason, the only sure guide to virtue, to peace, and to happiness.

FIRE ON MR. COBBETT'S PREMISES.

I had not the least idea, that, on a subject like this, and so wholly of a private nature, I should ever have been under the necessity of addressing my readers.—But the following paragraph, taken from the *Times* newspaper of the 26th instant, will, I am sure, be a sufficient apology for my so doing.—“A Hampshire paper adds some further particulars concerning a recent fire on the farm of Mr. William Cobbett, near Botley, by which two barns, a stable, a haystack, and some cattle pens were burnt. The alarm

“brought together a number of neighbours to assist in extinguishing the flames; they were ordered off in no very gentle accents by the worthy Lord of the Manor of Fairthorn (Cobbett); the honest rustics considering this as no grateful return for their wish to render assistance, were soon actively employed in pelting the worthy farmer with his own turnips, whilst his property was left to the devouring element. The flames ceased in about three hours.”——The real facts are these:—The fire, having to work upon wooden buildings covered with thatch, in dry weather and a windy night, were consumed in less than half an hour, leaving not a piece of timber standing when I arrived at the spot, about two miles from Botley.—The oxen, hogs, horses, asses, the waggons, carts, ploughs, and even the harness, had all been saved by the presence of mind, the courage, and the zeal of my servants. My neighbours ran from Botley with buckets; but it was quite too late to do any good.—Such a fire would naturally soon draw together, early in the evening, every creature for miles round. Soon after my arrival, a gentleman, my neighbour, came to inform me, that he had detected one of the “honest rustics” stealing the iron work of a pump. This was followed by my servants informing me, that others of the “honest rustics,” who came to “render assistance,” were amusing themselves by throwing a heap of Swedish turnips into the fire.—It was now time to stir, in order to save my iron and lead from the claws of, perhaps, 50 thieves, a moderate proportion out of 500 “honest rustics.”—In London and other great towns, soldiers, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, are always called in to prevent robbery.—I needed none. I explained to the assemblage the danger I was in from the thieves; I observed that no one could do me any good by remaining; and, as it was manifest, that no one could wish to remain against my will but for the purpose of thieving, I should, of course, look upon every man and woman as a thief, who did not, at my request, instantly retire. At the same time, I thanked every one for his having wished to render assistance. I had no trouble. Not a man remained at the end of ten minutes. Only one man was base enough to express his disappointment at not finding three or four hogsheads of beer to drink. No man threw a turnip at me; and, I am persuaded, that there is not a man in the

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whole country would have dared to think of such an act.—I, by my resolution, saved the remainder of my property.—If the fire had happened at some farm-houses, the thieving would have been nearly as destructive as the fire.—If facts like these are a disgrace to the nation, the nation has to thank the proprietor or editor of the *Times* newspaper for the publicity, which they will receive through my channel.—He would do better to employ his columns in clearing himself of the charge of having been so eminently instrumental in causing the war, which has led to the battles on and near Lake Champlain, where something much more dangerous than turnips have been flung at the heads of our unfortunate sailors.—As to the proprietor of the "*Hampshire paper*," whence the *Times* says it derived its information, I dare say that he is some wretch too contemptible for notice.

KIRKCALDY ADDRESS.—The corruptionists of this rotten Borough, alarmed lest the *loyalty* of their "good town" should be suspected, have been at great pains to make it appear, in their favourite journal the *Courier*, that the Address sent from that place to the Electors of Westminster, congratulating them on the independent manner in which they had acted in the case of Lord Cochrane, was a *fabri- cation*; that no such Meeting as that at which it is said to have been voted took place; and that "William Davidson," whose name appears as *Chairman* of the Meeting, is not a resident in Kirkcaldy. In this very *praise-worthy*, and *loyal* attempt, the *Chief Magistrate*, the *Post-master*, and the keeper of the *Wellington Inn*, seem to have taken the most active part. After what has happened in this corner of the island, I am not surprised that Scotland, which is but *one close rotten burgh*, should readily stoop to the performance of any *dirty* work that may be well pleasing to their Southern friends, who have it so much in their power to reward them. But when I recollect that Lord Cochrane was a *native* of Scotland, I could not help thinking it strange, that his *own countrymen* should have lent themselves to a transaction which in no view appears creditable, and which, considering the clear proofs now before the public of Lord Cochrane's ENTIRE INNOCENCE, was ungracious in the extreme. Had these parties entertained a proper sense of

"Scotia's boasted fame," they would not have appeared in the business; for where is a man to look for protectors, when assailed by the rude hand of adversity, but to the land that gave him birth? It was in Scotland that thousands of tongues ought to have proclaimed his Lordship's innocence, and shielded him from the calumnies of his persecutors. It seems, however, to have been reserved to the native hand of his Lordship, to strike the last blow of perfidy, and to give the finishing touch to a nation's ingratitude.—My limits will not admit of my saying all upon this subject that I could wish. But as the Gentlemen who have come forward in this *very honourable* business, appear to have been hurried too far by an inconsiderate zeal, I shall state to them the channel through which the Address reached me, in the hope that, after using a little more diligence, after being somewhat more active in their inquiries than they have hitherto been, they may see cause to retract the most essential parts of their statement. The Address in question was handed to me by Samuel Brooks, Esq. Chairman of the Westminster Committee. It was transmitted to that Gentleman by Sir Francis Burdett, who received it, in the regular course of post, along with the following letter:—"Kirkcaldy, 8th Sept. 1814.—Honourable Sir,—Permit me, in name, and by order of this Meeting, to request you to present the inclosed Address to the Electors of Westminster, as a small token of our respect, and the high sense we entertain of the laudable steps they have taken in the re-election of the Right Hon. Lord Cochrane, and of his Lordship's innocence of the late hoax, falsely laid to his charge. Should you, or the Electors of Westminster, think this in any way worthy your notice, we shall be happy to see it inserted in Mr. COBBETT'S REGISTER, of which we are constant readers. If otherwise, we hope that neither you nor they will take offence at this measure, as we have no sinister motive, but regard for virtue and innocence.—I am," &c.—(signed) WILLIAM JOHNSON, SECRETARY OF THE MEETING."—The Chief Magistrate says, that the "Address occasioned considerable surprise at Kirkcaldy, as no one had heard of any such Meeting, or knew any person of the name of William Davidson." The Post-master says, that he and his letter carriers used

all diligence to discover this person, but that they could not find him. Here, then, I have furnished them with the name of another party concerned, *the Secretary to the Meeting*. Let them use the same "diligence" as to him, and I dare say they will soon be able to discover the parties who have given them so much uneasiness—those *miscreants* who had the presumption to hold a Meeting, either public or private, in behalf of "*virtue and innocence*," without first obtaining the permission of the *Chief Magistrate!!!*—When the result of this inquiry is made as public as the former, I shall, perhaps, pay my respects again to this *worthy Magistrate*, and his particular friends the *Post-master* and the *Publican*.

THE CONGRESS.—Notwithstanding the *circumstantial*, and, as it was said, *highly interesting* details of the *proceedings* of Congress, with which our newspapers have, for some weeks back, been satiating the stomach of John Bull, it appears, from the following *official* document, that that Assembly is not to meet till the 1st of November. The observations, from the *Moniteur*, on this Declaration, are important in many respects, but chiefly because they distinctly shew, that the interests and influence of France will be more *predominant* at the ensuing meeting, than our corrupt press is willing to allow:—

DECLARATION.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts who signed the Treaty of Peace at Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, have taken into consideration the 32d article of that treaty, which declares that all the Powers engaged on both sides in the late war, shall send Plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order to regulate in a General Congress, the arrangements necessary for completing the enactments of the said treaty; and after having maturely reflected on the situation in which they are placed, and on the duties imposed upon them, they have agreed that they could not better fulfil them, than by establishing, in the first instance, free and confidential communications between the Plenipotentiaries of all the Powers. But they are, at the same time, convinced, that it is the interest of all parties concerned to postpone the general assembly of their Plenipotentiaries, till the period when the questions on which it will be their duty to pronounce, shall have attained such a degree of maturity, as that the result may correspond to the principles of public law, the stipulations of the treaty of peace, and the just expectations of contemporaries. The

formal opening of the Congress will therefore be adjourned to the 1st of November, and the said Plenipotentiaries flatter themselves that the labours to which the intervening period shall be devoted, by fixing ideas and conciliating opinions, will essentially advance the great work which is the object of their common mission.

Vienna, Oct. 8, 1814.

The above Declaration, by explaining the motives which have occasioned the postponement of the Congress of Vienna, is the first pledge of the spirit of wisdom which will guide the labours of the assembled Plenipotentiaries. It is indeed by the maturity of Councils—it is amidst the calm of the passions, that the tutelary authority of the principles of *public law*, invoked and recognised in the late Treaty of Paris, ought to be re-established.—Thus the just object of contemporaries will be fulfilled, and in the approaching negotiations, a result will be obtained conformable to what the *law of nations*, and *universal law of justice*, prescribe to nations in their concerns with each other. At the epoch when the great Powers are leagued to re-introduce into the mutual relations of States, the *respect of property* and the security of thrones, no political transactions, except such as are invested with that equitable character, are to be expected.—Europe already accepts this happy augury, and France, who is not jealous of any advantages for which the States may reasonably hope, aspires to nothing more than a *just equilibrium*. Possessing within herself all the elements of *strength* and *prosperity*, she seeks not for them beyond her limits: she will not listen to any insinuations tending to establish systems of mere convenience; but, resuming the character which the esteem and the gratitude of Nations heretofore entitled her, she will desire no other glory than that of which the guarantees rest on the alliance of power with moderation and justice. It is her wish to re-become the prop of the weak and the defender of the oppressed.—France, in this disposition, will concur in the arrangements tending to consolidate a general peace, and those Sovereigns who have so nobly proclaimed the same principles, will consecrate with her this durable compact, which is to ensure the repose of the world.—(*Moniteur*.)

AMERICAN OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, AND THE RETREAT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

GENERAL ORDERS.—*Head Quarters, Plattsburgh, Sept. 14, 1814.*—The Governor General of the Canadas, and Commander in Chief of the British forces in North America, having invaded the territories of the United States, with the avowed purpose of conquering the country as far

as Crown Point and Ticonderoga, there to winter his forces with a view to further conquest, brought with him a powerful army and flotilla. An army amounting to 14,000 men, completely equipped, and accompanied by a numerous train of artillery, and all the engines of war—men who had conquered in France, Spain, Portugal, the Indies, and in other parts of the Globe, and led by the most distinguished Generals in the British army. A flotilla also superior to our's in vessels, men, and guns, had determined at once to crush us, both by land and water. The Governor-General after boasting of what he would do, and endeavouring to dissuade the loyal inhabitants of the United States from their allegiance, by threats and promises, as set forth in his proclamation and order, fixed his head-quarters at the village of Champlain, to organise his army, and to settle the government of his intended conquest. On the second day of the month, he marched from Champlain; and on the 5th appeared before the village of Plattsburgh with his whole army; and on the 11th, the day fixed for the general attack, the flotilla arrived. The enemy's flotilla at eight in the morning passed Cumberland Head, and at nine engaged our flotilla at anchor in the bay of the town, fully confident of crushing in an instant the whole of our naval force; but the gallant Commodore Macdonough, in the short space of two hours, obliged the large vessels to strike their colours, whilst the galleys saved themselves by flight. This glorious achievement was in full view of the several forts, and the American forces had the satisfaction of witnessing the victory. The British army was also so posted on the surrounding heights, that it could not but behold the interesting struggle for dominion on the Lake. At the same hour the fleets engaged, the enemy opened his batteries on our forts, throwing hundreds of shells, balls, and rockets, and attempted at the same time to cross the Saranac at three different points to assault the works. At the upper fort he was met by the militia and volunteers, and after repeated attempts was driven back with considerable loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. At the bridge, near the village, he was repulsed by the picquets and brave riflemen under Captain Grovenor, and Lieutenants Hamilton and Riley, and at the bridge in town he was foiled by the guards, block-houses, and the artillery of the forts. The enemy's fire was returned with effect from our batteries, and by sun-set we had the satisfaction to silence seven batteries which he had erected, and to see his columns retiring to their camp beyond the reach of our guns. Thus beaten by land and water, the Governor-General withdrew his artillery and raised the siege. At nine at night, sent off his heavy baggage, and under cover of the darkness

retreated with his whole army towards Canada, leaving his wounded on the field, and a vast quantity of bread, flour, and beef, which he had not time to destroy, besides a quantity of bombshells, shot, flints, and ammunition of all kinds, which remained at the batteries, and lay concealed in the ponds and rivers. As soon as his retreat was discovered, the light troops, volunteers, and militia, were ordered in pursuit, and followed as far as Chazy, capturing several dragoons and soldiers, besides covering the escape of hundreds of deserters, who still continue to be coming in. A violent storm, and continued fall of rain, prevented the brave volunteers and militia from further pursuit. Thus have the attempts of the invader been frustrated by a regular force of only fifteen hundred men; a brave and active body of militia of the State of New York, under General Mooers, and volunteers of the respectable and patriotic citizens of Vermont, led by General Strong, and other Gentlemen of distinction; the whole not exceeding 2,500 men. The British forces being now either expelled or captured, the services of the volunteers and militia may be dispensed with. General Macomb cannot, however, permit the militia of New York and the volunteers of Vermont to depart without carrying with them the high sense he entertains for their merits. The zeal with which they came forward in the defence of their country, when the signal of danger was given by the General, reflects the highest lustre on their patriotism and spirit; their conduct in the field has corresponded with the laudable motives which led them into it. They have deserved the esteem of their fellow-citizens, and the warm approbation of their commanders. They have exemplified how speedily American citizens can be prepared to meet the enemies of their country. In testifying his sense of the merits of the troops, the General cannot but express his sorrow and regret for the loss of some brave and virtuous citizens, and for those who have been wounded. The loss, no doubt, will be keenly felt by their friends and countrymen, but at the same time will be borne with that fortitude and resignation which become good citizens and good Christians. The affection of the General will accompany his brave associates in arms, wheresoever they go; nor will any thing give more pleasure than opportunities of testifying to them individually by actions as words, the high regard he cherishes for them. The General, in the name of the United States, thanks the volunteers and the militia for their distinguished services, and wishes them a happy return to their families and friends.

(Signed)

ALEX. MACOMBE.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM VICE-ADMIRAL COCHRANE TO MR. MONROE.

His Majesty's ship the *Tonnant*, in the Patuxent River, August 18, 1814.

SIR—Having been called upon by the Governor-General of the Canadas to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the inhabitants of the United States, for the wanton destruction committed by their army in Upper Canada, it has become imperiously my duty, conformably with the nature of the Governor-General's application, to issue to the naval force under my command, an order to destroy and lay

waste such towns and districts upon the coast, as may be found assailable.....I had hoped that this contest would have terminated, without my being obliged to resort to severities which are contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, and as it has been with extreme reluctance and concern that I have found myself compelled to adopt this system of devastation, I shall be equally gratified if the conduct of the Executive of the United States will authorise my staying such proceedings, by making reparation to the suffering inhabitants of Upper Canada; thereby manifesting, that if the destructive measures pursued by their army were ever sanctioned, they will no longer be permitted by the Government.—I have the honour to be, Sir, with much consideration, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) ALEX. COCHRANE.

Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels upon the North American Station.

The Hon. James Monroe, Secretary of State, &c. &c. Washington.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. MONROE, TO SIR ALEXANDER COCHRANE, VICE-ADMIRAL, &c.

Department of State, Sept. 6, 1814.

SIR—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 18th of August, stating, that, having been called on by the Governor-General of the Canadas to aid him in carrying into effect measures of retaliation against the United States, for the wanton desolation committed by their army in Upper Canada, it has become your duty, conformably with the nature of the Governor-General's application, to issue to the naval force under your command, an order to destroy and lay waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable. — It is seen with the greatest surprise that this system of devastation, which has been practised by the British forces, so manifestly contrary to the usage of civilized warfare, is placed by you on the ground of retaliation. No sooner were the United States compelled to resort to war against Great Britain, than they resolved to wage it in a manner most consonant to the principles of humanity, and to those friendly relations which it was desirable to preserve between the two nations, after the restoration of peace. They perceived, however, with the deepest regret, that a spirit alike just and humane was neither cherished nor acted on by your Government. Such an assertion would not be hazarded, if it was not supported by facts, the proof of which has already carried the same conviction to other nations that it has to the people of those States. Without dwelling on the deplorable cruelties committed by the Savages in the British ranks, and in British pay, on American prisoners, at the River Raisin, which to this day have never been disavowed or atoned, I refer, as more immediately connected with the subject of your letter, to the wanton desolation that was committed at Havre-de-Grace and at George Town, early in the Spring, 1813. These villages were burnt and ravaged by the naval forces of Great Britain, to the ruin of their unarmed inhabitants, who saw with astonishment that they derived no protection to their property from the laws of war. During the same season, scenes of invasion and pillage, carried on under the same authority, were witnessed all along the waters of the Chesapeake, to an extent inflicting the most serious private distress, and under circumstances that justified the suspicion, that revenge and cupidity, rather than the manly motives that should dictate the hostility of a high-minded foe,

led to their perpetration. The late destruction of the houses of Government in this City is another act which comes necessarily into view. In the wars of modern Europe, no examples of the kind, even among nations the most hostile to each other, can be traced. In the course of ten years past, the capitals of the principal Powers of the Continent of Europe have been conquered, and occupied alternately by the victorious armies of each other, and no instance of such wanton and unjustifiable destruction has been seen. We must go back to distant and barbarous ages, to find a parallel for the acts of which I complain.

Although these acts of desolation invited, if they did not impose on the Government, the necessity of retaliation, yet in no instance has it been authorised. The burning of the village of Newark, in Upper Canada, posterior to the early outrages above enumerated, was not executed on that principle. The village of Newark adjoined Fort George, and its destruction was justified by the officer who ordered it, on the ground that it became necessary in the military operations there. The act, however, was disavowed by the Government. The burning which took place at Long Point was unauthorised by the Government, and the conduct of the officer subjected to the investigation of a military tribunal. For the burning of St. David's, committed by stragglers, the officer who commanded in that quarter was dismissed without a trial for not preventing it.

I am commanded by the President distinctly to state, that it as little comports with any orders which have been issued to the military and naval commanders of the United States, as it does with the established and known humanity of the American nation, to pursue a system which it appears you have adopted. The Government owes it to itself, to the principles which it has ever held sacred, to disavow, as justly chargeable to it, any such wanton, cruel, and unjustifiable warfare.

Whatever unauthorised irregularity may have been committed by any of its troops, it would have been ready, acting on these principles of sacred and eternal obligation, to disavow, and as far as might be practicable, to repair. But in the plan of desolating warfare, which your letter so explicitly makes known, and which is attempted to be excused on a plea so utterly groundless, the President perceives a spirit of deep-rooted hostility, which, without the evidence of such facts he could not have believed existed, or would have been carried to such an extremity.

For the reparation of injuries, of whatever nature they may be, not sanctioned by the law of nations, which the naval or military forces of either power may have committed against the other, this Government will always be ready to enter into reciprocal arrangements. It is presumed that your Government will neither expect or propose any which are not reciprocal. — Should your Government adhere to a system of desolation, so contrary to the views and practice of the United States, so revolting to humanity, and repugnant to the sentiments and usages of the civilised world, whilst it will be seen with the deepest regret, it must and will be met with a determination and constancy becoming a free people, contending in a just cause for their essential rights and their dearest interests.

I have the honour to be, with great consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JAMES MONROE.

Vice Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels, &c.